TOILERS WHO TOIL NOT.

BOOK ABOUT THEIR CONDITION, ITS CAUSES AND ITS REMEDIES.

THE UNEMPLOYED. By Geoffrey Drage, secretary of the Labor Commission, 8vo., pp. xiv., 277. London: Macmillan & Co.

The real problem of the unemployed is moral rather than economic, or perhaps moral before Every examination of the question must confirm the belief that lack of moral considerations on the part of the laborer, the employer and the public at large lies largely at foundation of the misery which comes in the bureau, trade union, State socialism, or chari ish a lack of employment and see that every man ods of attacking particular phases of the evil moderation and clear-sightedness in this respect are for the most part agricultural laborers, while show English poverty of a type leading to demands for relief to be almost entirely a town product and not to any extent recruited directly from the country. The town relief societies have rural districts. This suggests defective educa-

Drage says it is impossible to form any ade-1892, found 5 per cent out of work, and then came improvement reduced the idle to 6 per cent by June, 1893, but almost 8 per cent were out of work by the beginning of this year. The conclusion reached is:

Apart from seasonal and purely temporary causes, the state of trade is subject to wide fluctuations, extending over a period of several years, and affecting the whole industrial system. A period of general prosperity is followed by a decline, increasing in intensity until a time of severe depression is reached. This again is succeeded by a gradual revival. This general moveded by a gradual revival. This general move-nt is, however, modified by the effect of other tors, which tend partially to obscure it. To take the year 1893 as an example, trade in general has been affected by a variety of causes—the unusually fine weather, the disputes in the shipping, cotton and coal trades, and the financial crises in America and Australia. These have caused considerable fluctuations in the state of

Seasonal fluctuations may affect one differently but check the demand for certain kinds of lothing. The removal of an industry from one ome trades, particularly among the dock laborhire the number of men needed each day, and one day 1,300 might be employed at the London and St. Katherine's Docks, and within a week at work, subject to idleness at any moment. On December 28, 1891, there were 11,850 laborers at work on the docks and wharves of London, while on December 29 there were 14,800, and the next day 16,000, almost the same number employed eleven days before. This fluctregularity of dock employment by combinations ble workers who have preference over casuat appilcants. This minimizes the trouble caused by necessary irregularity to those who make dock labor their constant occupation.

Any attempt to remedy the evils which these figures barely hint at must proceed with an understanding of the complicated nature of the causes producing them. And there are as many classes of the unemployed as there are causes for their lack of employment, and each demands a different cure. First, the broad distinction must though perhaps not definite, hope of work in the future-and those who are permanently unemployed and are for the most part unemployable. These classes shade into each other. Those who have a certain prospect of work need aid only to tide them over temporary want. But the class whose place may be taken by new machinery or cars. They must themselves find or be helped to find work in new places or in new trades, or they are likely to deteriorate under irregular employment and become members of the chronically un-

Some of those who may fairly be said to fall within this class do a little work. They are the casual laborers, generally unskilled and more or less inefficient. The irregular work, and the irregular income and habits which follow in its train, tend to bring these into the still lower outside work. To the genuine unemployed workclass of the unemployable. The last named, through physical or moral defects, are economicolony system is hardly adapted. State workcally worthless, and those most in need are generally the most worthless. Provision for them plying to the colonies, and the additional one must primarily be a charity. It may be made to that they drive trade out of private hands, though approach self-support. The children of the unemployable may be rescued. Work may be done to keep the class from being recruited. But in evil-imperfect organization of industry. Others, comparatively few cases can the members of this however, think the Labor Bureaus, trades unlons class, once fairly in it, be restored to absolute

This classification gives some clew to the causes | plish the same purpose. The deeper question the to which idleness is due and suggests allevia- | Socialists do not touch. They do not assert that tion, if not remedy. The superfluity of labor is in commercial crises will not occur. All they seek many cases owing to causes outside the laborer are not his fault. He cannot control the weather. Neither has he power to regulate the whims of fashion. This last is a prolific source of misery. Goods are not manufactured steadlly in the demand employers wait till the last minute is slack work for good men, discouraging and competing trades, and by their own irregularity tegrating the moral fibre built up by steady, persistent labor. On the other hand, the atnt to rush through a large amount of work on the eve of the season creates abnormally high

tracted for a short time to their own final injury and to the injury of those with whom they compete. The evil thus runs through the whole social fabric. Mr. Drage says:

An increased moral responsibility on the part of society might influence also those trades in which it has become the custom for everybody to have certain work done at short stated periods in the year. The co-operation of employers could do much toward remedying these evils, and a steady determination on their part to equalize the work as much as possible throughout the year would do much toward breaking down customs which cause so much unnecessary irns which cause so much unnecessary irregularity.

Speculation also has a bad effect on the prosperity of labor; and depression, which directly njures workmen, may be caused by fear of unreasonable action on their part and by strikes

The permanently unemployed, to a far greater degree than the others, owe their misfortune to their own fault. It is true that there is, in many places, an apparent superfluity of labor; but this manent surplus, and the prevention of its industrial organization so as to prevent the existimportant of the remedies dealing with temporary other hand, has a story of successful relief work o escape private charity and did not include incapable. They were taught the use of tools and led to work as though upon an of

cerning similar enterprises in general, Mr. Drage It may be doubted whether such relief works offer any adequate remedy under ordinary cir-cumstances for temporary want of employment. have a tendency not only to attract the desire tute classes to those spots," but "even to draw the pauper and semi-pauper classes from the Continent," because a general expectation is raised that employment will be provided by the governing bodies. Although the creation of arti-ficial work for the worthy unemployed might be free from objections, "the honest, industrious that the provided with the provided and the control of the control ficial work for the worthy unemployed might be free from objections, "the honest, industrious poor are so intermingled with the shiftless and incapable" that it is impossible for a governing body providing relief on a large scale to separate them. The schemes of relief which are suited to the former only do barm to the latter. Ex-perience has shown that it is almost impossible to escape from the difficulties inherent in any syscape from the difficulties inherent in any sys escape from the difficulties inherent in any sys-tem of municipal relief works unless given in times of very exceptional distress. It is, how-ever, difficult to see why objection should be made to schemes of relief works carried out with

It was estimated that the prevention of pauper-

fold the number employed on the works. Con-

The most important non-socialistic agency for the relief of temporary idleness is the trade union. by payment of "out of work benefit," and helping bring about greater regularity in trade, and, by more widely. The Labor Bureaus also do good work in helping men to find employment, and the want columns of the newspapers are useful as a

To deal with the permanent superfluity many schemes have been tried. First, there is frank charity under Poor Law administration. Then there is the Labor Colony, which has been extensively tried in Germany, France and Holland, and proved a refuge for incapables at a cost not much less than that of workhouse support, but, under favorable conditions, with much better resuits. The colonies reclaim some and remove others from the stock of the unemployed glutting the labor market. Thel iability of these refuges it has been found that one who has been an inman who is capable and anxious to work, this shops are open to most of the objections apalso sees in his theories a remedy for another and greater care on the part of employers for the in that case is to throw the burden on the com-

Mr. Drage, after examining the many phases of his subject, concludes that separate means must be found to deal with what he regards as a fivefold problem: "The existing 'stock' of temthrough the year, but for fear of sudden freaks porarily and permanently unemployed must be eliminated; the recurrence of the problem of men ganized as to assist the circulation of labor in accordance with the demand for it." To this end, after analyzing the present methods in operation he makes certain practical suggestions as to organization and treatment. First, the problem must be treated as national and not local; second,

perts; third, it must be "grouped" but not "dealt with" by one body. This body, he believes, while dealing "only with the existing 'stock' of unemployed," would be capable of conducting a wise agitation for the whole series of lesser rem-

But beyond all this, the moral element must not be forgotten. The lack of it is the weak spot in most of the incapables or in their parents. Morality must speak to settle the disputes ment in determining fashion. It stands rebuking that sometimes make the industrial machine an the unemployed Bureaus and colonies and unions can do much for workmen, but all machinery fails at the last and the only real solution for any social problem is to be found in individual relation of man to man, the every man with every other, face to face, as he would be dealt with. It is the vast organization with the mass of workers impersonal to the em-

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